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MR. BARUCH POSES THE ISSUE

By Felix Morley

There are moments in world history when the least discerning can see that mankind has reached the parting of the ways. Such an instance is found in the "choice between the quick and the dead" which Bernard M. Baruch, speaking for the Government of the United States, on June 14 laid before the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations. "We cannot escape history", said the American representative on this Commission, paraphrasing Lincoln. "We know how to save peace. We . . . hold the power and have the responsibility."

Precisely for that reason the Baruch recommendations must be considered against the stark backdrop of the present world picture, and not for themselves alone. Our Government "proposes the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority, to which should be entrusted all phases of the development and use of atomic energy, starting with the raw material. . . ." This IADA would have licensing, managerial, inspection and research control over all laboratory and manufacturing activities in the field of atomic energy. It would be an outright superstate organization, completely overriding national sovereignty in the broad field of its mandate. Nominally, IADA would be a part of the United Nations Organization. Actually, it would be largely autonomous.

The reason for the sweeping powers projected for IADA are not far to seek. For decades now national governments have been establishing courts, and adopting conventions, treaties, covenants and charters designed to secure international peace. Continuously these efforts have broken down because of the refusal of independent sovereignties to be subordinated to any central authority. Everyone now realizes what was pointed out by HUMAN EVENTS on July 4, 1945 -- that the Charter of the United Nations contains all the seeds of failure included in the Covenant of the defunct League, together with some wholly original defects of its own.

Belated realization of fatal deficiencies in the United Nations setup explains the present emphasis on making the international control of atomic energy really effective. And the American plan is very in-

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genious. It would not yield any of the advantages possessed by the United States in this field until the projected central authority, with power to apply "immediate, swift and sure punishment" for any violation of its controls, has received universal and unequivocal acceptance.

II

Wartime propaganda, often dishonest and always devised for short-range ends, has thoroughly confused the American people as to the problem which prevents the building of a stable peace. Yet the picture is essentially simple.

As a materialistic and unphilosophical people, we find it difficult to realize that the post-war struggle for supremacy is not so much in terms of material power as in the vitality of ideas. The old rivalries between nations are giving way to a more exacting contest of ideologies. Nations are no longer arrayed against nations as such, for very few nations competent to assert their independence effectively now remain. There are, as HUMAN EVENTS described it on July 19, 1944, "Only Two Great Powers" -- the United States and Soviet Russia.

Until the fiction became obviously preposterous it was customary to speak of these two Powers as natural allies, between which mutually helpful co-operation could be expected in "One World" happily dedicated to "Four Freedoms". Actually, of course, Communist Russia and Capitalist America are not natural allies but natural -- and mortal -- enemies. As Lenin said: "Eventually an obituary will be sung either over the death of world capitalism or over the death of the Soviet Republic." And the obituary of world capitalism, already sick and weakening daily, would be the beginning of obsequies for the American Republic. The demagogy which our people have swallowed in recent years gives little reason to believe that we can preserve free enterprise in a world of totalitarian Socialism.

This country and Soviet Russia are not natural enemies as nations; less so, certainly, than are the British and Russian imperialisms. But this democracy and the Soviet dictatorship are now much more than nations in the conventional sense of the word. They are protagonists of mutually irreconcilable ideas on the nature of God; the character of man; the role of religion; the function of the State; the purpose of life and almost every other really fundamental issue that can be identified. To assert that a cleavage so profound can be reconciled by empty chatter about "co-operation" is merely silly, or would be if it did not happen to suit the Russian book.

From the viewpoint of world history the accomplishment of the re-

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cent war can be condensed into a single paragraph. It has eliminated not merely the tinsel dictatorship of Mussolini and the more formidable Nazi regime, but also the German and Italian nations and therewith all effective check to Asiatic domination of Europe. Simultaneously Japan, so far as it was a block to Soviet expansion in the Far East, has been destroyed and efficient fifth columns for Communism have been developed throughout the Western Hemisphere, especially in our colleges, labor unions, periodicals, radio comment and even in administrative offices of the Federal Government.

III

It is at this critical juncture that the Baruch proposals are made; it is against this setting that they ought to be examined.

As Mr. Baruch himself would be the first to admit, the proposals which he submitted to the United Nations last week were not originated by him. They are based on the report of a highly competent Board of Consultants, presented as far back as March 16 to the State Department's special Committee on Atomic Energy.

That Committee, established by Secretary Byrnes on January 7, 1946, was composed of Vannever Bush, President Conant of Harvard, Major General Groves and former Assistant Secretary of War McCloy, with Under Secretary of State Acheson as chairman. The technical Board of Consultants, headed by David E. Lilienthal, chairman of TVA, made its report in the first instance to the Acheson Committee, which in turn reported to Secretary Byrnes. These studies, collectively known as the Acheson-Lilienthal Report, from the names of the two chairmen, are conveniently obtainable, in summarized form, in the Department of State Bulletin for April 7, 1946 (Vol. XIV, No. 353).

What Mr. Baruch has done, as United States representative on the Atomic Energy Commission of UN, is to improve, approve and submit for international consideration a far-reaching proposal based upon the most careful American thinking in the industrial and scientific, as well as in the military and diplomatic, spheres. The Baruch proposals are firmly grounded on the stipulation of the Board of Consultants that if the plan fails, "or the whole international situation collapses", the United States "will still be in a relatively secure position, compared to any other nation".

On the other hand, failure is not envisaged, either in the preliminary reports or in the definitive Baruch proposals, provided the projected IADA is given the necessary powers of inspection, oversight and control by all Members of UN.

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Mr. Baruch, however, has laid down one new principle, necessitated by Russia's obstructive policy on the Security Council, in stating that under IADA:

> "There must be no veto to protect those who violate their solemn agreements not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes."

It is in this elimination of the veto, and in the wide power of inspection and of freedom of access "for all qualified representatives of the Authority", that an acid test of Soviet Russia's political intentions is laid down. If the plan is rejected, or if unreasonable reservations are applied to these stipulations, then the depth of the developing cleavage between the two Great Powers will be made plain to all. Is our knowledge of atomic fission, under controls which would prevent its use for destruction, worth loss of the veto to Russia? For while abolition of the veto would currently apply only to IADA, it must, if that succeeds, be extended to all the work of the Security Council.

Undue optimism as to the outcome would only be a continuation of the egregious folly of President Roosevelt, who was so consistently hoodwinked by Stalin. But the issue should not be prejudged. The point to watch is the Russian reaction to the proposal that international officials shall be allowed to move freely, and to inspect thoroughly, behind the iron curtain. That reaction will tell the story.

And, incidentally, the American offer to destroy and cease the manufacture of atomic weapons, to share the Government's "know-how" with other nations under a workable scheme of international control, should end a lot of fifth-column nonsense. Even Harold Laski must now cease to argue -- in his syndicated column for the American press -- that Russian aggressiveness is fully explained by the withholding from that country of certain information on the atomic bomb.

The attitude of Communist apologists and appeasers, however, is relatively unimportant. It is the official Russian reaction which will count. That will decide whether we can still speak hopefully of "One World" or whether -- and much more seriously for America than in 1939 -- it is again a case of "We or They".

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events VOL. III, NO. 25

By Frank C. Hanighen June 19, 1946

We offer the following observations on Russia, not as a conclusive analysis of that country's domestic condition, but as important and significant evidence. These findings are based on a report from such a reliable and objective source that we believe them deserving of consideration.

The principal reason for Russia's intensified propaganda barrage against Britain and the United States is the domestic economic plight. Moscow is making much of "the foreign danger" for the purpose of raising public morale, which has suffered severely from bad living conditions. Resort to this well-known device springs from the fact that the Russian Government is sadly lacking in any other effective propaganda appeal. During last winter's election campaign, the propaganda machine laid great emphasis on the Soviet Constitution. Millions of words reiterated the promises of political rights and the blessings that would flow therefrom. But this great verbal flood apparently left the vast majority of people quite unmoved. It certainly failed to achieve what the Kremlin wanted -- accelerated production.

Nor did promise of immediate material rewards make any better progress. Last fall there was a renewed effort to push Stakhanovism -- the system of speed-up by means of piece rates and other methods of incentive. This drive was observed to have failed in various districts covered by the above-mentioned report. Workers showed no enthusiasm at Stakhanovite rallies; and from their comments heard at these meetings it was evident that they had listened to these exhortations and promises too often before. Last December Stakhanovism was abandoned in these areas.

A real slowdown movement among the workers has been going on since the end of the war. It is not merely induced by lack of food and bad living and working conditions, although these factors play a part. It is not the result of a revival of Trotskyism or of any underground conspiracy. It is a thoroughly spontaneous and conscious slowdown. The workers have reached a stage where they are no longer responsive to threats, cajoling, promises. They seem to feel that they have nothing to lose. The slowdown is the most natural way of expressing their discontent. Just as an example, in one maritime city observed, the time of turn-around of ships has greatly increased since last summer, although threats of punishment have alternated with promises of material rewards. An unloading which formerly was accomplished in days now takes weeks.

Our report does not show that the "danger from the British Empire" (which has been a propaganda note sounded for the past year) has changed the morale situation for the better; and the Kremlin's attacks on the United States commenced too recently to be covered by this report. It may be that these observations are of limited value because they involve only one, although an extensive, area of Russia. But the observer reported that he had talked with Russians from other parts of the country who confirmed existence of the same situation elsewhere. Quite a number of other observers have noted that the war devastation -- destroyed bridges, plants, houses, in the western part of European Russia -- seems to have remained unrepaired even up to a month ago. In any case, even if the internal situation as described above is considerably discounted, it deserves watching as an important influence behind the foreign as well as the propaganda policies of the Soviet Union.

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The emergence of General de Gaulle from the tent in which he has sulked for the past six months is a symptom of the troubled political situation in his country. There is much concern about the condition of France, because, if to the political confusion is added an economic blow (such as a general strike), a severe national crisis will follow.

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Such a prospect is by no means impossible. The Communist forces in France, after their rebuff in the referendum and election, appear to be counting on an "ace in the hole" to trump their democratic opponents. The card is believed to be the well-known Communist control of the major trade union body, the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail). The CGT before the war was not Communist-controlled, although that Party made powerful inroads into its Executive Committee during the Popular Front era. With Liberation, the Communists took over control of the CGT, and Léon Jouhaux, the famous old anti-Communist President of the organization, became a "captive" of the new forces. Today, the CGT presents the new Government with a demand for a 25 per cent wage and salary increase, and observers fear a general strike if the Government does not accede. Serious labor trouble looms, and mention of a general strike suggests the possibility that the Communists, recently thwarted at the polls, may turn to this weapon for revolutionary purposes.

But democratic forces have been organizing against the Communists on the trade union level, as they have so successfully done on the political plane. The formation of the CNT (Confédération Nationale du Travail), composed of CGT dissidents, as a new rival organization is a sign. A ferocious dispute in the April convention of the CGT indicated that the Communist control faces a serious challenge. A correspondent in Paris writes us: "The evolution of the syndicalist (trade union) struggle is progressively disarming the Communists. A coherent opposition to the Communists has been formed in the very bosom of the CGT, under Jouhaux and Bothereau. The April meeting gives only a feeble idea of the struggle which has started. The opposition in the CGT will render any general strike for Communist purposes very difficult and will take away from the Communist Party its principal means of pressure on the Government."

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An important straw in the political wind is the sudden enfeeblement of the hitherto stalwart figure of Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts. Until a month ago, political observers had believed that Walsh would enjoy plain sailing in his efforts for re-election next fall. He is highly honored among ranks of both parties in his own state. He has a first-class political machine, built up over the last thirty years. He benefits by a peculiar spirit of noblesse oblige between the two parties in Massachusetts. Republican and Democratic political bosses have a tacit understanding that the state should be represented in the Senate by one Protestant and one Catholic -- today, respectively, Senator Saltonstall and Senator Walsh. In previous campaigns, Walsh has therefore enjoyed the support of many Republican voters. Politicos would be reluctant to upset such a balance. But reliable reports from the Bay State now indicate that Walsh's chances of re-election have slipped in the past month; that he may well be defeated; and that this unexpected situation has arisen because of the anti-Administration tide which is sweeping the country. Friends of Senator Walsh say that he is worried. Democratic friends on the Hill who themselves face the voters this fall are especially concerned, for they feel that if Walsh isn't safe, then few northern Democrats are safe.

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"It's a hell of a way to run a railroad", was the gist of an interview given to the AP by Mr. Robert R. Young, of the C. and O. Railway, in which he strongly criticized banker control of many rail companies. In what Mr. Young said to the AP and in what he has been saying and doing for some time emerges the outlines of a new and progressive figure in American business. It is about time, say many observers. Such individual business leaders as Henry Ford came to the fore with a refreshing and intrinsically American approach to business problems during and after the last war. But, in this war and since V-J day, there has appeared no corresponding figure.

Mr. Young has shot up from a position as a Wall Street broker ten years ago to

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domination today of the $2,000,000,000 Van Sweringen railway network. But, although he came from the ranks of the banking profession, he is severely critical of banker control of many railroads. "Bankers", says Young. "They're the trouble with a lot of railroads. Bankers don't pretend to be industrial managers. What we need is more ownership interest in railroads. That's what's made some of our biggest corporations great." Young also attacks "dry rot" in upper executive ranks, obsolete marketing methods, "black market" in railroad reservations, etc. He advocates nonstop Pullman reservations from Coast to Coast and widespread pleasure and educational travel. Young, together with certain western financial and industrial interests, has competed strenuously and successfully with Wall Street in various big deals in recent years. In his utterances many perceive a note not unlike that sounded by Henry Ford thirty years ago. It may be that Young and others by their new ideas and enterprise can rehabilitate the position of business leaders in the national scene.

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Last week Argentina for the first time opened formal diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Perón probably postponed this move as long as possible. As a member of the Argentine military class he has no love for the Soviets; and undoubtedly he would have preferred to play ball with the United States despite the recent unpleasantness. But since he received no acceptable approaches from Washington, the Argentine leader obviously felt he needed the new diplomatic connection as a bargaining advantage vis-à-vis the United States. But the presence of General von der Becke (formerly Argentine Chief of Staff) in the United States indicates that Perón nourishes real hope of a rapprochement.

There is less hope in responsible quarters on Capitol Hill. So long as Mr. Spruille Braden heads the Latin American Division of the State Department, little progress can be made, it is held. Any recommendations from the Senate for better relations with the Argentine, it is believed, would be pigeonholed while Braden remains. Members of Congress who have discussed Latin American affairs with Secretary Byrnes received the impression that he would like to have a new deal with Buenos Aires. But the Secretary was so preoccupied with the European situation that he had no time to formulate definite plans for a new policy towards Argentina. It is now hoped that through the agency of the Pan-American Union, rather than through the State Department, constructive approaches can be made which may bear fruit.

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Bevin's criticisms of Russia, in the recent debate in Parliament, were blunt and forceful. But in the same dramatic session Mr. Churchill's attack on that Power made an even greater impression -- adorned as it was by his verbal brilliance. The scene has inspired some observers to wonder if the old stager isn't trying to make a comeback. Is it in his calculations that he might ascend again to power during some sort of emergency, arising from the Russian danger? Is he hoping that his prestige as a world leader will place him in the coalition cabinet which such an emergency might well call into being? His faithful aides among the Conservatives may feel that the best way for the Tories to return to power is for them to follow Churchill in such a situation.

This interpretation is at least partly confirmed by advices from London concerning the situation within the Conservative party. In party caucuses Churchill is described as wholly preoccupied with world policy, and these meetings turn into audiences for Churchillian monologues on Britain's historic role abroad. There are some Party leaders who chafe at this situation. They want an Opposition Leader who can reorganize the Party in the constituencies and who can effectively combat the socialistic measures of the Labor Government. But even they may feel, "you can't escape history".

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Notes and Quotes

The Wall Street Journal, on June 14, editorially commented on the results of the Republican primary in Nebraska, in which Senator Butler defeated Governor Griswold; the latter backed by Governor Harold Stassen. The Journal does not agree with other commentators who interpreted the result as indicating a "Midwest swing back to what they are pleased to term 'isolationism'." There is no issue of "isolationism", emphasizes the Journal, in the narrow sense of the word: "It was these Nebraska 'isolationists' who sent their sons into a distant war for an ideal. It is these same 'isolationists' who now share their dwindling supplies of things to carry on the American tradition to succor to the helpless.

"People who want to shut themselves off from the world do not do these things, or even suffer them to be done. Like a good many other Americans, it is safe to guess, the people of Nebraska want an American foreign policy founded on American tradition and they instinctively react against the entrance of the United States into the game of power politics on the European model just as they react against the idea that the function of this country is to continue to support a world which places its social and governmental theories ahead of the task of feeding people.

"The way to make real isolationism in this country, the way to sicken the people with all consideration of foreign affairs, is to continue to pound them with smearing propaganda when they question policies that are produced by flabby mentalities."

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Travel is broadening ---- Senator Mead in a speech in the Senate, on June 6, had this to say: "I, too, visited Tel Aviv, Mr. President, and to me it was a sort of combination of Atlantic City and Venice."

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Who's got the Mufti? Wherever that mysterious figure is, whoever is behind him, here he is portrayed by the pen of Freya Stark, in her book The Arab Island. Miss Stark (a British propaganda agent in 1939-41) ran across the Mufti, then a fugitive from Palestine and British justice, in Baghdad. Here is the way he impressed her: "The Mufti sat there all in white, spotless and voluminous, a man in the early forties, wearing his turban like a halo. His eyes were light, blue, and shining, with a sort of radiance, as of a just-fallen Lucifer.

"Beside him sat a sad, black-bearded man with venom in his glance. A few effendis were of the party, watching my approach with discomfort. But the Mufti was an artist; he looked pleasantly excited, as at the meeting of an enemy one rather likes. He had that sort of magnetism by which a man makes a difference to a room when he enters. In his young days he had organized a dramatic society in Jerusalem and taken the comic parts; and he had bewitched George Antonious as securely as ever a siren did her mariner, leading him through his slippery realms with sealed eyes so that George -- whom I was fond of -- would talk to me without a flicker about the Mufti's 'single-hearted goodness'. I looked now with deep attention: there was little good and certainly nothing disinterested in that face, but intelligence, and a great, if bogus, charm.

. . . We let politics carefully alone and talked pleasantly about modern Arabic literature, and when the whole gowned, snakelike company rose to depart, the Mufti alone turned at the door to bow -- rather like a cardinal dispensing benediction. . . . He was known to have pocketed large sums, both German and Italian; he was the source of perhaps more than half our trouble in Iraq. He escaped by slipping through the hands of the British in Persia, across the Turkish border, disguised, they told me, as an Italian sailor. His practice as a comic actor must have stood him in good stead." (The Arab Island, by Freya Stark. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1945, $3.50.)

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